1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
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nothing to show that they had long been in the Saskatchewan region. All that is certain of their previous past is their closer relationship to the Arapaho than to any other tribe; and the origin of the Arapaho is equally obscure, except that it is certain that, if they came from the north and east, it was a long time ago. Of the Gros Ventre it can only be said that, while related to the Arapaho and regarded by them as almost politically a part of themselves, they were far separated from them when first known, with them for a short time later, and again separated, and in contact and alliance with another much more distantly related Algonkin branch. Their habitat in a hundred years has been successively near the Saskatchewan, the Platte, and the Missouri. There is nothing to show that such variability of affiliation and location within the culture region of the Plains has not been characteristic of their previous history.

The Gros Ventre call the tribes near them by the following names: Arapaho, hinan'ăn (in Arapaho, hinanaei-na"); Cheyenne, itisŏn, "scars" (itisa", "a scar;" Arapaho name of the Cheyenne, hitaciina"); Cree, na"tsa", "rabbits;" Ojibwa, djinhuna"tsa", "Lower Cree;" the three Blackfoot tribes, waotä"nixtäats, "black-feet" (a Blackfoot, waotä"nixtänin, "blackfoot-man;" a Piegan, tsä"t'; the Bloods, ka"winähää"); Assiniboine, na"djineihin; Sioux, na"wina"djinei, "Below-Assiniboine" (in Arapaho, na"tinei, "a Sioux"); Crow, hounen, "crow-men;" Minitari, wuxnokayan, "—lodges;" Shoshone, sosŏtyănin, "snake-men;" Bannock, waotä"nixiinin, "black-men" (in Arapaho the Ute are called wrotänähiçi, "black"); Flathead Salish, kaaknäänin, "flathead-man;" Nezperć, taniibats, "pierced-nose" (Arapaho taniibääçi is the Caddo). Two tribes to the southwest or perhaps west, which have not been identified, are the wasoi"hiiyeihits, "grass-dwellers," who live in houses of grass or brush; and the na"wuxaantibiina"ts, "fish-eaters."

The Gros Ventre were divided into groups similar to those of the Blackfeet and Sioux. The names of these bands were nicknames, and in no way totemic. As there was prohibition of marriage within the band, the name "clan" is, however, applicable to them. Descent was paternal and a man belonged to his father's band; but the prohibition of marriage extended also to his mother's clan, all the members of both the father's and mother's clan being considered relatives. Each band seems to have had a recognized head or chief. During the winter the tribe broke into smaller groups, consisting of one or perhaps more clans, which followed the buffalo, and camped chiefly in the timber. There corrals were made for the horses at night to prevent their being stolen by war-parties. When summer came, the clans joined and camped together in the large camp-circle. In this, the opening of which was toward the east, the different bands had definite

1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
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places. Beginning at the eastern opening of the circle, and going southward, westward, northward, and eastward again, the order in which the clans camped was as follows:—

1. Frozen, or plumes.
2. Those-who-water-their-horses-once-a-day.
3. Tendons.
4. Those-who-do-not-give-away, or buffalo-humps.
5. Opposite (or middle) Assiniboine.
6. Ugly-ones, or tent-poles worn smooth (from travel).
7. Bloods.
8. Fighting-alone.

Other names of clans, whose location in the camp-circle was not ascertained, and some of which, perhaps, are second names of clans enumerated above, are:—

Dusty-ones.
Coffee.
Weasel-skin head-dress.
Kahutyi (the name of a chief).
Poor-ones.
Berry-eaters.
Torn-trousers.
Gray-ones, or ash-colored.
Breech-cloths.
Night-hawks.

Anecdotes referring to incidents that are usually ridiculous accompany these names. The Smooth-worn-tent-pole people were so called, because the ends of their tent-poles, used as travois, were worn smooth from much travelling. The Tendon clan was so called, because one of this band had said that the tendons in the neck of a buffalo were good eating. The Frozen-people were so called, because, when they had hungry visitors in winter, they gave them frozen meat. Those-who-water-their-horses-once-a-day are said to have followed this practice so that their horses would gain flesh more quickly. The Opposite-Assiniboine, like the Assiniboine, were said to have had few horses, and the Fighting-alone were very warlike people. Those-who-do-not-give-away-without-return were considered stingy, and the Ugly-people were said not to have painted their faces.

FOOD AND HUNTING.

Like most of the other tribes of the Plains, the Gros Ventre subsisted almost entirely on the buffalo, and their culture depended to the usual degree upon this animal. The following scattering notes were obtained regarding the hunting of buffalo and other animals.

Buffalo enclosures used to be made of trees and forked limbs set in the ground in a half or three-quarter circle below a vertical bank. Extending over the country above the bank, a long chute of two rows of stone monuments was erected, behind which sat men. Other hunters drove the buffalo into the chute. Those behind the piles of stone rose up as the buffalo

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
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CHAPTER II

TRIBAL ORGANIZATION

The greater bulk of our material on the Gros Ventres covers the fifty year span from about 1835 to 1885. During that period, the tribal territory centered about the Milk River. The present Reservation, the boundaries of which were finally fixed in 1888, represents only a small part of the land claimed and held by the Gros Ventres as their own.

Band Names and Affiliation

The political organization of the Gros Ventres was simple. The division into fairly autonomous bands was basic, and apparently the number of bands was twelve. Our informants, both those who were adult and those who were children, at the time when the whole tribe still encamped as a unit, agreed on that point. The list of band names given by our two oldest informants, Coming Daylight (b. 1854) and Singer (b. ca. 1856), is as follows: Coffees, Same as Assiniboine, Plenty Bad, Greys, Fast Travelers, Water Horses Once a Day, Upper Quarters, Frozens, Buffalo Overloaded, Tendons, Bloods, Night Hawks. These two old women maintained that, in their own experience, the bands camped in this order, and in a circle, when the whole tribe was together.

Quite independently of the above list, another was obtained from The Boy (b. 1870). As a child he witnessed the formation of the camp circle, and he knows many details of previous decades from his father, Lame Bull (b. ca. 1825, d. 1890) and from other old men. The Boy's list agrees with that given by the two women, except in regard to one band. He includes a group called Poor Greys and omits Night Hawks. All of our informants insisted that the Greys and Night Hawks were distinct bands, but there was a difference of opinion as to whether or not the Greys and Poor Greys were in reality the same band.

Seven of the band names can be identified with Kroeber's num-

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
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621 bered list: Same as Assiniboine (No. 5); Fast Travelers (No. 6); Water Horses Once a Day (No. 2); Upper Quarters (No. 4); Frozens (No. 1); Tendons (No. 3); Bloods (No. 7). Furthermore in Kroeber's supplementary list we find the Coffees and Night Hawks mentioned; we are probably correct in assuming that Kroeber's Dusty Ones in that same supplementary list correspond to our Greys. Kroeber does not refer, however, to either Plenty Bad nor Buffalo Overloaded; whereas our informants could not identify Kroeber's Fighting Alone (No. 8).[1]

621 114 The fact that there is as much agreement, namely, in ten band names, between Kroeber's information and our own, is quite remarkable since the band names were nicknames, the explanations for which were quite trivial. Not only were variations used to designate the same band by different informants, but also apparently the band names were frequently changed altogether.

For example, Kroeber's Smooth-worn-tent-people were designated variously by our informants as Slick Runners, Slippery Travois Poles and Fast Travelers—all of these taken from the little explanatory anecdote that this band was supposed to travel so far and so fast that the ends of the travois poles which dragged on the ground quickly became smooth and worn.

Similarly the Dusty-ones of Kroeber were termed by our informants Greys (proper) and Those Who Do Not Wash Their Faces, playing around the theme that members of this band did not paint up as did other Groups and that they thus looked unkempt and dirty.

Those-who-do-not-give-away, or [illegible], mentioned by Kroeber were consistently identified by our informants as Upper Quarters, the explanation lying in the stinginess acquired one time when members of the [illegible] asked for meat, and gave the upper quarters or hump of the buffalo instead of the more desirable parts.

The Opposite-Assiniboine or Same-as-Assiniboine were also called Poor Ones because they, like the Assiniboine tribe in general, possessed few horses.

Our informants said that Water Horses Once A Day were so

[1] Kroeber, 1908, p. 148.

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
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called because the band members were too lazy to water their horses more often.

The story regarding the Frozens is that one winter people were hungry and the members of this band killed buffalo; when they were asked for meat, they replied: "The meat is frozen and we can't cut it." The alternative name for this band, given by Kroeber and by one of our informants, as Plumes or Those-who-wear-feathers-on-the-head, is probably an older name for the band, but one for which neither Kroeber nor we received an explanation.

The Coffees and Bloods were so known on account of their going to extremes in the consumption of these two foods respectively.

Plenty Bad refers to the fact that this band was numerous but were all "bad" people, that is, that there were few with good reputations as warriors.

Buffalo Overloaded were supposed to have been very foolish people. Their name derives from the story that on one occasion, when hunting, they saw a small herd of buffalo, one of which sat down. A band member said: "That buffalo is overloaded (i.e., he has eaten too much and has died)." The others said: "Let's wait till all the buffalo get overloaded, then we will go and get our meat." One by one the buffalo sat down and when the hunters thought they were all dead, they walked toward them, but the buffalo, catching the scent, ran away.

The Tendons were so named because they were said to have expressed a preference for the neck tendons of the buffalo as food.

The Night Hawks received their name from the habit of the band members of breaking wind audibly, the sound suggesting the noise the night hawk makes as it flies.

Only one of our informants mentioned Berry Men as the name of a band, whose place in the camp circle was said to have been next to Water Horses. Although this name is likewise listed by Kroeber, none of our informants could say to which band the term referred. Several other names of bands which various informants mentioned as having been heard by them to have existed in the past were Black Horns, Yellow Tail Feathers, Saw-whet Owls, Red Eagles, Torn Leggings, and Traders. One informant,

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
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621 114 The Boy, ventured the following tentative indentification, saying that these may have been earlier names respectively for Same As Assiniboine, Upper Quarters, Water Horses, Night Hawks, Coffees, Frozens. A few informants had heard of Breech Cloths and Weasel Skin Headdresses as band names but didn't know which modern bands they might have been, always assuming that the number of bands had been twelve.

361 621 114 As to the exact order of the bands in the camp circle, there was no real agreement. The order given by Singer and Coming Daylight differs from that given by Kroeber. Furthermore, while the two old women were emphatic that the places within the camp circle were permanent—"otherwise we could not remember all this!"—some of the men informants were under the impression that the band from which a new Flat Pipe Keeper was chosen moved to the center position opposite the opening of the camp circle, and that the others shifted accordingly.

361 621 In any case, the circle, with opening toward the rising sun, was the formation employed when the whole tribe was together. When bands were separated from the main group they might or might not camp in this way, depending somewhat on the length of time they expected to remain in one spot, and on the nature of the terrain. Sometimes, for instance, the lodges of the various families of the band were strung out along a watercourse.

According to The Boy, there was a tendency for bands which camped in proximity within the big camp circle to go off together when the tribe split up. The Upper Quarters and Frozens were often together and, along with them, the Same As Assiniboine or occasionally the Greys (proper) and Buffalo Overloaded, usually staying more or less in the vicinity of the Milk River, the center of the territory claimed by the Gros Ventres. Whereas the Tendons, followed by the Poor Greys and Bad Plenty, moved for winter quarters to the country bounded by the Big Sandy, the Marias River (at Ft. Benton), and the Bear Paws; while the Fast Travelers as a rule sought out the country south of the Missouri toward the Yellowstone River and Crow country, accompanied by perhaps the Coffees. Water Horses and Bloods were friendly with each other and joined now one group and now another.

554 621 A band which was thus followed by two or three others had

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
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added prestige. Those mentioned as leading bands above were seemingly the most numerous and most prominent in the recent past, and their representatives are more numerous at the present time. While the Frozens, Upper Quarters and Bad Plenty have the most living descendants, apparently there are no Poor Greys or Coffees today, only one Night Hawk, and a few each of the others.

Although Coming Daylight and Singer claimed membership in the Frozen band, they had no false modesty in proclaiming: "The Frozens were the best workers, had the biggest lodges, the prettiest women and the best-looking men. In fact they were the 'aristocratic' families, being the best-dressed and having the most horses." This was confirmed voluntarily by Cora who stated that she belonged to the Same As Assiniboines, but had heard all her life that the Frozens were the most distinguished band along the lines the old women mentioned. The men informants admitted that some bands were considered better in some respects than others, but failed to be more specific, and added that regardless of the reputation of the whole band, an individual man had to make his own way.

It is somewhat difficult to arrive at the exact situation as to band affiliation and exogamy inasmuch as the band ceased to function not long after our oldest male informants were born. Our oldest female informants, whose memory includes the 1860's, stated in regard to this individual or that, whom they mentioned, that they could not remember to which band he had belonged. In fact the old women became quite impatient when questioned on this subject since from their point of view it was not important. To them the question of marriage regulations was a practical one of avoiding as mate any person to whom blood relationship could be traced, no matter how remotely, and any affinal relative not of the same generation.

There was general agreement among all informants, however, that under normal circumstances children were of the same band as their father.[1] Nevertheless, residence was an important factor, and not a few persons claimed affiliation with bands other than those into which they had been born. Coming Daylight, for instance, said she was a Frozen, the band to which her mother had

[1] Cf. Kroeber, 1908, p. 147.

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
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621 belonged. She was orphaned at an early age and was raised by
597 her maternal grandmother under the protection of her mother's brother, Crow Bull, a prominent member of the Frozen band. Garter Snake claimed to be a Tendon, likewise the band into which her mother had been born, although her father, Bull Lodge, a so-called "Hudson Bay Company breed," was classed as a Frozen. If a child were adopted by, and remained during his childhood days with, a family of another band than that into which his real father had been born, he became a member of the adopting band. For instance, Lame Bull adopted a boy whose father belonged to a different band, but the boy was always known as a member of Lame Bull's band, the Upper Quarters.

[591] One informant stated that when a woman married she became a
621 member of her husband's band, but this statement refers in all probability merely to the fact that patrilocal residence was often practiced. Each of our older women informants stated as her band the one in which she grew up. When speaking of their husbands, these women, each of whom had survived several mates, seldom mentioned their band affiliations, unless asked specifically, nor did they mention to which of the soldier societies their several husbands had belonged. One gathers the very distinct impression
[602] that the kinship bonds were the all-important social relationships so far as Gros Ventres women were concerned, and that the wider political and social groupings did not impinge very directly on their lives.

621 All informants stated that one should not marry into the band
582 in which he claimed membership and in which he was brought up. There was a difference of opinion among them, however, as to whether one might marry into his mother's band providing he had not been raised therein and no blood relationship could be traced.[3] The Boy stated positively that a man who would so much as flirt with a young woman of his mother's band would be disliked. Charles Buckman differed, holding that any marriage would be proper, providing the far-reaching incest taboos based on blood and affinal relationship be observed. The Boy admitted that, because of changes which occurred in band affiliation, occasionally a person would take a wife from some other band than that of either

[3] Kroeber, 1908, p. 147, prohibition of marriage extended to mother's clan.

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
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his father or mother and still discover later that she was related to him. The Boy's own experience illustrates this. The Boy is an Upper Quarters as was his father, and his mother was a Frozen. It so happened that his mother's father was one of three brothers who were Frozens. The grandson of one of these three brothers married a Bad Plenty and stayed with his wife's band so long a time that he was known as a member of the Bad Plenty and his children took that affiliation. The Boy married one of the daughters of this family, a woman known as a member of the Bad Plenty. Only after several years of married life did they one day discover that The Boy had married his maternal grandfather's brother's great-granddaughter! Charles Buckman, whose father was a white man, and whose mother, a Bad Plenty, later married a Water Horses man, took Charles there to live, and he claimed affiliation with the latter band. He married a Bad Plenty woman, however, and discovered years later that his wife was remotely related to him on his mother's side. It seems certain that in former times, when the bands were functioning, an Upper Quarters would not marry an Upper Quarters, that is, that an individual would not marry into his own band; but beyond this, apparently only known blood and most types of affinal relationship were bars to marriage.

Within the band, close relatives usually camped in proximity, whether residence was matrilocal or patrilocal. The general consensus of opinion among our informants was that most of the persons within a band were related to each other. Band members would not wager against each other for high stakes in gambling, and sometimes the whole band might become involved as a unit in case of blood revenge.

Chief or Leader

The term "chief" was employed to designate any man who had distinguished himself in war.[4] Each band then might have several or many such "chiefs," but among them would be one recognized as leader, "he who takes us around," that is, the one who directed the band when it moved from place to place.[5] This function seems

[4] The Gros Ventre term is *nätcä* (m. s.) *näkyä* (w. s.). For linguistic shift between men's and women's speech, see Flannery, 1946, pp. 133–34.

[5] The Gros Ventre term is *ninä'ninänä:titc* (m. s.). Kroeber, 1908,

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
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seemed that the others present agreed with him, the leader would give in and have the crier announce the revised decision."

On the march, the leader went at the head of his band and showed the way. When several bands were together, the leader of one would have decided where he intended to go, and, if the other bands had decided to go along with this one, they followed, but were free to break away at any time.

The band to which either the Keeper of the Flat Pipe or the Keeper of the Feathered Pipe belonged had a certain distinction as there was a tendency when the tribe split for each to have a considerable following.

According to tradition, as related by The Boy, the Gros Ventres had had in the fairly remote past a formally selected chief or leader of the whole tribe. It was said that he functioned when the whole tribe was together and that his decisions in important matters were made in consultation with the chief men, including the leaders of all the bands. There was no regular council and anyone present might express his opinion. Often the Keepers of the Sacred Pipes were present at such meetings called by the tribal chief, but if they were not present they were supposed to be kept advised.

The last regularly selected leader of the whole tribe was said to have been White Eagle, who held this position in the last decades of the eighteenth century. It was said further that White Eagle was preceded by White Shield, of whom there are many stories extant, and that White Shield was preceded by Elk Going Against The Wind. The Boy gave the following information regarding the "election" of White Eagle. The account was given to The Boy by his father, Lame Bull, who had it from Old Man Gopher, a cousin of Lame Bull's paternal grandfather. "The Gros Ventres had been badly decimated by smallpox and only about 30 lodges were left.[8] Old Man Gopher and his sister, both of them very young children at the time, were the only survivors of their family. The old men among the survivors of the tribe got together and proceeded to choose a chief. White Eagle was then a young man

[8] A reasonable chronological estimate would identify this as a tradition referring to the devastating smallpox epidemic of 1780. For historical data, see p. 9.

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
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very much increased. White Eagle governed the people very wisely and he governed until he died."

It was The Boy's impression that following White Eagle, the chief of the whole tribe was no longer formally selected and simply attained his position through gradual recognition of his merits.[9] Sits Like A Woman succeeded White Eagle and was tribal chief in the first decades of the 19th century. He was followed by his son of the same name who was a signer of the 1855 treaty, and was still recognized as tribal head when he died suddenly about 1870. Coming Daylight claimed that this Sits Like a Woman II was certainly the greatest chief of her time and that, when he died, people were forbidden to light their camp fires as a sign of mourning. During the subsequent period Lame Bull was outstanding among the leading men, but he witnessed the dissolution of the band system and the camp circle. The Fort Belknap Reservation had been set up in 1873, encompassing much more territory than at present, and the first houses were built in 1882.

In spite of the fact that a tribal chief was recognized, band autonomy was apparently preserved. The ceremonial organization cut across band organization, however, and band autonomy was relinquished at the times during which the Sacred Dances were held. The movements and activities of the tribe as a whole were then in the hands of the company to which the vower of a particular Dance belonged.[10]

The Companies

Kroeber notes that "men of the tribe of age to make any one ceremony were not all in one society or company but in several, the total number of companies being three or four times as great as the number of ceremonies. Each company had a name which it

[9] So far as it goes, this would seem to confirm O. Lewis' interpretation, pp. 42–43, that the earlier Hudson's Bay Company policy on the northern plains reinforced tribal chieftaincy, but that with the development of competition in the fur trade, authority was weakened.

[10] For a discussion of the Sacred Dances, see Kroeber, 1908, pp. 239–68. Other details are given in Cooper, Ms. 1949. The following discussion is concerned only with the composition of the ceremonial organization so far as it can be reconstructed.

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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784 517 fund of war exploits would be apt to give out, and the two would begin talking about trifling occurrences in camp, personal reminiscences about their marriages, and so forth. Everybody had a good time at such a three-day session.

Neither the keeper nor others were permitted to tell folk-tales of the vulgar or obscene Niːhəhat type in the former's lodge. If a member of a visiting group inadvertently broke the rule, a three-day session similar to the war-deed one above was prescribed, during which he had to continue telling such tales.

798 696 If a murder of a fellow-tribesman had been committed in camp, and the murdered person's relatives were about to kill the murderer in revenge, the latter could run to and take refuge in the keeper's lodge and was safe so long, but only so long, as he stayed there. The avengers dared not enter it to kill, but immunity ceased so soon as the murderer left the lodge.

621 361 There is general agreement among our informants that the keeper's lodge was pitched in a prominent place, but exactly where in the camp circle is a controverted point we did not succeed in clearing up. According to one tradition, it occupied the place of honor in the circle, toward the northwest—opposite the circle's opening which was toward the southeast or the rising sun,—regardless of where the keeper's band camped in the circle. Three, however, of our oldest informants, Coming Daylight, Takes-the-Bow, and Turn-Toes, held that the keeper remained with his band, the first two of the three stating that his lodge was pitched a little in front of his band toward the center of the circle.

Prerogatives and Restrictions of Keepership

793 The office of keepership carried with it on the one hand a great many special rights, privileges, prerogatives and powers and on the other a great many restrictions, obligations, responsibilities and sacrifices. The following list is undoubtedly incomplete, as new ones were still being revealed when our field work came to an end,[8] but it probably includes most of them. They functionally accord with sacred and high dignity of the keepership, the supernatural power attached to it, the lofty ethical behavior and "as-

[8] Kroeber, 1908, p. 273, has some we did not get.

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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keeper's lodge, with two tripod legs close together and the third pointing in the direction of march, as a signal to the people.

On the march, the Pipe bundle was ordinarily packed on Pipe's own horse. Two stuffed parfleches were placed, one on either side of the saddle; blanket robes were thrown over them and the saddle; the bundle, with its covers, was then put thereon and securely lashed down with specially tied rawhide thongs.

On breaking camp, the two Pipe keepers with their Pipes might decide to stay together, or else to separate. "Most of the people [usually] hung around the Pipes." If the Pipe keepers decided to separate, some of the bands or other groups or families might choose to go with one Pipe, others with the other, others still with neither. "Both Pipes had certain bunches who followed them, and when the Pipes split certain ones went with each. Each band suited itself and followed the Pipe it liked best." This, for example, is what happened on the occasion when the Assiniboine captured the Flat Pipe.

If both Pipes stayed together, then according to The Boy, Turn Toes, and Takes the Bow, the Flat Pipe took the lead, the Feathered Pipe coming second in line. Garter Snake could not recall the order of precedence. We did not obtain further clarification of Al Chandler's statement: "The two keepers moved out first side by side and if the tribe was going to split, it was up to the people which Pipe they would follow." The statement may refer to those occasions when the Pipes were going to separate. On such occasions, all informants were fully agreed that the Flat Pipe and Feathered Pipe each came first in the line of march of its respective followers. The order on the march, for the Feathered as for the Flat Pipe was: the keeper in the lead, next to him the co-keeper leading the Pipe horse behind her, then the Pipe child alongside or just behind the horse. In this connection the original first co-keeper of the Feathered Pipe was called, in Garter Snake's version of the origin story, "Woman-takes-the-lead."

Other Sacred Pipes

In recent years the Gros Ventres have had only the Flat and Feathered Pipes, but earlier there were others. The Boy listed

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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For the duration of a Crazy Dance, political as well as ritual authority was vested in the age-group giving the Dance, and the ordinary personnel of government ceased for the time being to function. The Crazy Dancers ran everything; their word was law; they decided what was and was not to be done, even regarding the hunt.

The vower himself was for the time being in supreme command. He selected, as his councilors, however, four outstanding men, of middle age, older than the actual participant dancers, but not too old, men of prestige who had won recognition through merit, who had made their mark and were known as "chiefs," "successful and with good homes, good men." These four, according to Turn Toes, were chosen from among the next older age-group of the society, Stars or Wolves, to which the participant dancers age-group belonged, and were "elder brothers" of the dancers. Turn Toes emphasized more the ritual functions of these four "elder brothers." While the dancers themselves were in authority during the dance, and paid the expenses thereof, they would be helpless without knowledge of the proper rites and observances. The four "elder brothers" who had previously gone through the Crazy Dance, would be instructors in procedure to the group of younger dancers and would give the decisions thereon. The Boy emphasized more the political functions of the four "elder brothers." The vower together with these four constituted a sort of council or governing body. The five consulted and advised together on arrangements preparatory to and during the Dance, the "balance of power" resting with the vower in case of a deadlock among the four "elder brothers."

After these five got together they selected as their crier an intelligent old man who was known for his command of language. He sat in on their meetings, but without vote, so to speak. It was his duty to listen carefully and keep abreast of proceedings, and when decisions were made by the council of five he was told: "Go around the whole camp and announce that such-and-such shall be done." The five also chose as attendants or servants two young men, apparently two who had not previously joined the Crazy Dance. These two had no initiative; their task was to do what

4: Flannery & Cooper E-5 (1939-1945) 1946
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stakes, but not for really large ones. A gambling game between two brothers-in-law, small though the stakes had to be, was a good show for the onlookers—not, however, nearly so good as one between two prominent enemy friends. Two sisters-in-law were also "just right" for gambling against each other. 606 525

Through all these three relationships run two currents: one of mutual goodwill and helpfulness, the other of familiarity, "teasing" and twitting. Between two brothers-in-law and two sisters-in-law there is relatively more of the first and less of the second; between brother-in-law and sister-in-law relatively more of the second and less of the first.

Two brothers-in-law could not discuss sex or vulgarity and could not go to the toilet together. They would be helpful to each other in giving presents, in a building project, in business matters, and so forth. But on the other hand they could go quite far in "humiliating" each other, in indulging in practical jokes and horse play at the other's expense, and in rivaling each other in war and in war-deed matching contests—but not to the limit, not so far as enemy friends could go. Two sisters-in-law could likewise "tease" each other, but could not go to the same length that brothers-in-law could go. [522]

To her brother-in-law (sister's husband or husband's brother) a woman could go nearly any length in "teasing" and freedom in the way of crude horse play and of vulgar and obscene talk, and vice versa.

The gambling rule that prevailed, and still prevails largely, between these three types of siblings-in-law, namely, gambling for small stakes permitted and encouraged, but not for large stakes, appears to be genetically related to the two currents we have been discussing: the goodwill one prohibiting stakes whose loss would really hurt, the familiarity one permitting and provoking small-stake gambling. 619 525

The Gros Ventre, with a population range of between about 800 and 2,000 in the second half of the last century, were divided into about a dozen bands. These bands were not sibs proper, but each was composed largely of kin related by blood or marriage. Members of a given band, whether related or not, would not gamble against one another. There was a well-marked we-feeling among the members of a band, somewhat distinct from and additional to the kinship feeling proper. Actually this was almost equivalent to "tribal" we-feeling, for each band was for the greater part of the year, particularly in the winter months when the bands scattered to separate quarters within the tribal territory, an almost completely autonomous economico-political unit, and any band was free if it wished to secede from the tribe at any time, temporarily or permanently. 621 [161]

4: Flannery & Cooper E-5 (1939-1945) 1946
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

621 Members of one band could and not infrequently did gamble both for small
525 and for big stakes against members of other bands, just as one kinship group used to gamble against others. Tribal we-feeling certainly existed, but seemingly not as intense as band we-feeling, just as, in turn, the latter was not as intense as kin we-feeling. / In inter-band, as in inter-kin, gambling, spectators, if they bet at all, would lay their wagers on the players of their own band, as required by band loyalty, regardless of the relative skill and reputation of the contesting players or teams.

515 For Gros Ventre men who had reached full adulthood and were still in the
[885] prime of life, there were two age-societies, called the Stars and the Wolves (or
525 Wolf-men). These two groups, with soldier-police functions, would join forces when necessary in keeping order, in fighting fires, and in defending the whole tribe against enemies, but for the rest rivalry between them was pretty keen. Stars would gamble against Wolves in big games for large stakes, but ordinarily a Star would not gamble against a Star or a Wolf against a Wolf, except for refreshments or a smoke or similar trifling "stakes." Inasmuch as membership in the two societies cut across the lines of kinship and band membership, inter-society gambling suffered an important restriction: if a Star were gambling in a given game, his relatives among the Wolves would not play or bet against him in that particular game. Kinship ties took precedence over society ties.

525 Gros Ventre would of course gamble for big stakes against members of other
643 tribes with whom they happened to be at the time on sufficiently good terms, or at least not bitterly and actively hostile, to meet and foregather peacefully, such as the Piegan, Flathead, Nez Percé, and Cree. In such intertribal contests they would often go out to win every possession of their opponents.

512 The Gros Ventre distinguished three kinds of friends: ordinary friends,
525 true or pledged friends, and enemy or war friends. As a rule ordinary close friends would not take opposite sides in a big gambling game. This was all the more true of pledged friends. Two boys, for instance, who liked each other
[608] and who had perhaps grown up together would, though belonging to different bands, enter into a sort of "sworn brotherhood," give each other presents, exchange intimate confidences, and promise, without religious rite of any kind, to stand by each other always, even to death if necessary. Two girls could also enter into a similar pact. Such "true" or pledged friends never gambled against each other either as players or as backers, at least never for stakes of value.

Of enemy or war friends we have previously spoken when describing the wheel game. Two enemy friends would gamble against each other for small stakes or big, the bigger the better. In fact a hand game for big stakes between